1: Karsten--64 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
761 (1928-29)

"It is impossible to describe the terrible excitement which an ordinary death, and particularly a sudden, unexpected death, causes among these savages, who regard practically every death as being a murder."

l: Karsten--111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
761, 726 (1928-29)

"But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

l: Karsten--213-214 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-l
116, 587, 177, 761 (1928-29)

"Among the CANELOS INDIANS, who are now under the influence of Christianity, there is no time fixed for the widow before she can remarry. However, the same ideas as to the jealousy of the deceased husband prevail as among the Jibaros, in spite of the fact that most marriages receive the blessing of the Church, and it is always considered to be more or less risky for a man to marry a widow; he may die soon afterwards. A very startling instance of this once came under my notice, which at the same time is interesting as showing how strongly self-suggestion works upon the Indian. At Sarayacu, a small village situated three days' journey south of Canelos, there lived a woman of whom the rumour was current that every man who married her died soon afterwards. It was not dangerous to live in free sexual relation with her, but to contract a legal marriage with her through the Church was considered fatal. Four men who had married her earlier were said to have died an untimely death. In March 1917 when the Father came from Canelos on his usual yearly visit of inspection he was told that the woman lived with a fifth man. The Father tried to induce the man to legalize his connection with the woman by a church ceremony, but the Indian made objections mentioning the rumours which were current about the woman. Finaly,[sic] however, he yielded to the persuasive power of the monk, and said with the resignation characteristic of the Indian: 'Since you wish me to marry her, I will do so, but I am sure that I shall die.' A few days after the marriage ceremony had taken place I happened to come to Sarayacu.

just in time to witness the final catastrophe. Early in the morning a friend of the newly-married Indian arrived at the mission reporting: 'Manuel (this was the Indian's Christian name) is ill, probably he will die.' The Father paid no attention to this message, taking the whole thing to be but one of the usual superstitions of the Indians. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, however, another Indian arrived saying: 'Manuel is worse, he will certainly die.' The Father now went to see the sick Indian who lived at some distance from the mission. When he returned he told me that he had found the stomach of the Indian somewhat swollen. 'Probably he suffers from colic', he added, 'but I cannot understand why his life should be in danger.' However, late in [214] the evening there came a third message saying: 'Manuel is dead.' On the following morning the Indian was buried.

The mysterious influence which imagination and the firm belief in witchcraft exerts upon the Indian even physically is a chapter apart. I shall have an opportunity to refer to this fact again later on."

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

1: Karsten--456 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 761, 751 (1928-29)

"As I have stated before, the savage Jibaros never consider death natural. Death to them is always something 'unnatural', that is, it is always explained as the direct or indirect result of a wicked action, as a murder committed by an open or secret enemy. This is why the Jibaros annouce [sic] a death in the same way as they announce an approach of their enemies--by beating the big drum (tundúi) in that particular way which tells their friends that they are in danger. This is the ceremony Pakínmawae, mentioned before. Experience has taught the Indians that one death is frequently followed by another, and this is explained by the theory that the evil spirit who caused the death of the patient is moving about looking for fresh victims among his kinsmen. Small children are especially liable to be 'caught by the disease-demon'. Hence, when in the other houses the beats of the tundúi are heard, the family-father at once takes some water in a gourd and wets with it the crown of the head of each child. This 'baptism' is supposed to protect the children against the disease-demon, i. e. the contagion."

4: Up de Graff--292-293 (1897) 1923 Jivaro
116, 136, 752, 761, 825

"During my six years in the Amazon bush, I did not see more [293] than half a dozen venomous snakes in all, comprising three species, two of them only some fifteen inches long. However small, they kill the native Indians. They succumb to their bite perhaps as much from the psychological effect as from the actual venom. Jack and I were both bitten by the snake which always proves fatal to the Jívaros who neither know of, nor attempt to discover any remedy against their bite. They are hopeless fatalists with regard to this particular catastrophe. They merely say 'I have been bitten,' and lie down to die.

Doubtless there are other species which I have never seen, but at any rate the point which I wish to make, the fact of their comparative rarity, is indisputable. One would expect to find those vast untrodden swamps teeming with every conceivable variety of reptile."

"The confused jumble of voices about us made it quite impossible to grasp what was happening, but slowly we caught a few odd phrases which told us that this was no ordinary drinking bout, as we had supposed, but an impromptu gathering, assembled to discuss a startling piece of news--Kun-gupi's brother, who lived on the other side of the river, had come to an untimely end.

It was generally known that this man had been troubled with evil spirits for some weeks past, but at noon to-day, he had unexpectedly drawn his last breath while seated quietly on his rack. It was obvious that he had died a natural death, but Indians attribute every misfortune to the agency of some demon working under the direction of a personal agency. In this case, there was a good deal of discussion as to who the responsible party might be. Someone must have been to blame and a reasonable explanation had to be given. With Indians an explanation must [175] always be forthcoming for everything that happens, and their line of reasoning is often just about as sensible as our modern way of making plain the wonders of nature, which are still incomprehensible to our finite minds. The dead man had had no recognized enemies in the district, otherwise they would have been the first to be suspected. Failure to fix the blame on some fellow tribesman would cause attention to be focused on a stranger, and this is where Johnston and myself came in. Under such conditions, it would not need very much to implicate us in the affair, especially if we had been guilty of some indiscreet act such as photographing the man against his will."

20: Dyott--175-176 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 754, 761

"I knew some of the strange ideas Jivaros have about death, for I was living in a house once when a young warrior succumbed to a severe malady. I asked the father if many Indians died in that part of the country, and was told in a rather superior tone that Indians never die.

'But how about this poor fellow here?' I asked, pointing to the corpse. 'How do you account for his condition?'

'He didn't die,' replied the father; 'he met with an accident.' They hold the extraordinary view that people never die from natural causes, and that a man would live for ever if it were not for the baneful influence of some malignant spirit. Even when the body has 'met with an accident,' they fully believe in a continuation of existence in the spiritual state.

While yet the discussion ran high, another visitor squeezed his way in through the narrow portal and joined the excited group of men inside. He announced that a party of strangers had been seen in the district that very morning--two men carrying bundles, accompanied by a woman. Kuashu was quick to sense complications which might involve him and his family, so we hurriedly bade the neighbours good-bye and were soon streaking home to [176] advise Napi that his life might be in peril if he remained much longer with us."

25: Vigna--39 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 776, 761

Another divinity, --if the Principle which informs all the activities of their life according to their concept, can be called divinity--assists and provokes death, when this is not violent and caused by war.

25: Vigna--40 [2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 761, 754

Natural death, through infectious sickness or natural human exhaustion, has no explanation, nor do the Jibaros admit of one. The witch who is the supposed author of the death of a Jibaro, will sooner or later be the victim of inexorable vengeance on the part of the members of the family of the deceased. In cases of necessity, these will leave the vengeance as heritage from father to son.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro people (eastern Ecuador) have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs, with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on previously new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935, Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro people.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Supe; the Rio Chigüaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusuimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bayo on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *Wakampik*, *Tsukimpik*, *Uwit Akaña*, *Kagulf*, and *Tura Akaña* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Waita* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Shimpi* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *Mawajá*, *Tupi*, and *Nasua*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[For explanation of footnotes, see category 114, pp 210-212]

32:Marmer E-S (1916-1917) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common spirits include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the victim-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the spirit-seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a great deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the spirit instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.*

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an enemy-soul, the person returns to his home, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same enemy he has just come to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him: "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the enemy-soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this enemy-soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The enemy-soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general way. This power, called *tsekumas*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul-possessor to be an enemy-soul dismemberable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes him impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an enemy-soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.* However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will divert him.

When one has thus obtained an enemy-soul, he generally is armed with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is post puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess enemy-souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of enemy-soul they had each won. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the enemy-soul that he had won. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his enemy leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for enemy-souls "are satisfied with one killing."* The departing enemy-souls reportedly

M:Harner E-S (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

powerful winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or *kakaram* of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

This soul-stealing or captivating process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natem* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[9]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[10] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or in its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanⁿ* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makaⁿ*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pau*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanⁿ* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanⁿ* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemá* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

701 least one trustworthy close relative, such as a brother, for
725 the express purpose of "covering" him. A *kakaram*, since
726 he believes himself to be invulnerable to death (see pp.
[593] 135–41), does this primarily so that he will not be wounded.
• [761] While the "buddy" system of protection tends to work fairly well in daylight, there still is a danger that the *kakaram* may be shot at night, when his partner cannot see who attacked him.

728 After the successful completion of the killing expedition,
701 and if there has been no untoward incident, all the participants return to the *kakaram*'s house, since, according to custom, all killing parties have as their point of departure and return the house of the leader. There he will formally point out to those who invited him that although they are his enemies, he has helped them kill someone who was an enemy of theirs. He asks them if they want him to continue being their enemy or whether they would prefer to live in peace. Invariably the inviters reply that they, too, wish to start living in peace. However, this tends to be essentially a stereotypical ritual with little or no binding effect. Feuding normally soon resumes as before.

701 A *kakaram* is also often invited to lead killing expeditions
721 by persons who are not his enemies, from both his own and
628 other neighborhoods. These invitations provide him with an opportunity to build alliances, since non-enemies who invite him have a recognized reciprocal obligation to assist him in an assassination or war raid if he should request it. Thus, if a man leads many expeditions and thereby becomes a *ni kakaram* ("very powerful one"), he may theoretically have on call almost all the men of several neighborhoods and some of the men of a number of other localities. However, such alliances are quite unstable, and the men's response to a particular request will be very much conditioned by their evaluations of the immediate situation in terms of their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter IV

THE HIDDEN WORLD

I go where there is a great waterfall. 539
It emerges where the mountains become steep. 998
The waterfall will give me strength.

I hope that with this long journey
I shall have an encounter
In order to have a very long life.

From the song of a man making the
trip to encounter an anaconda

The Jivaro believe that the true determinants of life and 987
death are normally invisible forces which can be seen and 181
utilized only with the aid of hallucinogenic drugs. The nor- 276
mal waking life is explicitly viewed as "false" or "a lie," and [761]
it is firmly believed that truth about causality is to be found by entering the supernatural world or what the Jivaro view as the "real" world, for they feel that the events which take place within it underlie and are the basis for many of the surface manifestations and mysteries of daily life.

Thus, within a few days of birth, a baby is given a hal- 987
lucinogenic drug to help it enter the "real" world and hope- 276
fully to obtain help in surviving the hazards of infancy [854]
through seeing an "ancient specter." If an older child mis- [861]
behaves, his parents may administer another, stronger, hallucinogen to enable him to see that the "reality" on which they base their knowledge and authority does indeed exist. Even hunting dogs are given their own special hallucinogen [231] to provide them with the essential contact with the supernatural plane.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

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sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

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787 killed many times, so will you." Without another word the
774 old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this
778 unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

774 Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sud-
778 den power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called [828] *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. [751] His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contag- [761] gious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

798 When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is
721 seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily
794 only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father. [562] The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by [278] means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

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each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number is killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

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774 754 756 influence of *natemi*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his own *arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak*

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has been an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*wuisak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *wuisak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jívaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send